

OF THE
SECRET COMMITTEE
OF THE
HOUSE of COMMONS,

On the Treasonable Papers laid before them,

On the 23d January, 1799.

IN WHICH

The WICKED PLANS of Domestic TRAITORS
to assist our Foreign ENEMIES

In Plundering and Reducing

GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND,

TO THE MOST ABJECT SLAVERY,

ARE COMPLETELY DETECTED AND EXPOSED,

So as to put every Good Englishman and True Friend
to his KING, to his COUNTRY, and to HIMSELF,

ON HIS GUARD

Against their Base and Horrible DESIGNS!

Ordered to be Printed on the 15th March, 1799.

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R E P O R T, &c.

As this Report is so very voluminous, that few People could devote sufficient Time attentively to peruse it, and as the First Six General Heads chiefly refer to Facts and Documents already in Possession of the Public, it is thought that every Purpose of laying open to our Countrymen, the Plots of Domestic Traitors and Foreign Enemies, to rob them of all they hold dear, will be answered, by giving the remaining Part of this Report, which is so highly important and interesting, that it ought to be universally known.



THE Committee, to whom the several papers referred to in his Majesty's Message of the 22d of January 1799, and which were presented (sealed up) to the House by Mr. Secretary Dundas upon the 23d day of said month, by his Majesty's command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the same as it shall appear to them to the House, state, that they have proceeded in obedience to the orders of the House, to the consideration of the matters referred to them, and that they have been prevented from sooner laying before the House the result of their examination, not only from the extent of the matters which came before them, but because some of the recent circumstances which they have to state, could not with propriety, have been disclosed at an earlier period.

The Committee state their having found the clearest proofs of a systematic design long since adopted and acted upon by France, in conjunction with domestic Traitors, and pursued up to the present moment with unabated perseverance, to overturn all the existing establishments in this Country and Ireland, as well as to dissolve the connection between the two Kingdoms.

The Committee state, that the chief hope of accomplishing this design has rested on the propagation of those principles which produced the French Revolution, by means of political Societies, which have already produced the distractions and calamities of Ireland; and that in this country similar measures have been attempted, and though these have been hitherto defeated by the vigilance of government, and the general good sense and loyalty of the Nation, the object is not yet abandoned. The utmost diligence is still employed in endeavouring not only to sustain and revive those Societies whose seditious and treasonable purposes long since attracted the notice of Parliament, but to extend their correspondence to every part of this Kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and to those places on the Continent where French Emisseries are established; and to institute new Societies formed on the same plan with those which have produced such pernicious effects in Ireland. The extent and uniformity of this systematic Conspiracy are equally striking. The formation and structure of all these Societies, in this Country, in Ireland, and on the Continent, are similar; their views and principles

influence. A continued intercourse and concert has been maintained from their first origin to the present moment; sometimes between the Societies themselves, sometimes between the leading Members; and a frequent communication has been kept up with the government of France; to which they appear to look as their Protector and Ally, and which has repeatedly furnished an asylum to those, who, on account of their principal share in those criminal transactions, have become fugitives or out-laws from the British Dominions.

The Committee state, that in giving the grounds of this opinion, altho' they will have much and important new matter to lay before the House, yet they will also be obliged to recall to their recollection many particulars which have already been laid before Parliament, but upon which new lights have been thrown, by the events which have since occurred, and the subsequent intelligence which has been received. The defeat of all the attempts hitherto made on the public tranquillity, the Committee in the strongest terms ascribes to the laudable vigilance of the persons filling those departments of the Government to which this duty has peculiarly belonged.

The Committee then, under the *General Head*, "*View of the Nature and System of the Society of United Irishmen, as fully established in Ireland*," (which forms the first in the Report,) enter into a comprehensive detail of the formation and proceedings of that description of persons, which we the more readily omit in this *Abstract*, as these are already so fully before the public in the Secret Reports of the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland, forming the chief documents upon which this statement is founded.

The *Second General Head* is intitled, "*Institution of United Irishmen in 1791, and Rise of different Societies in Great-Britain*."

The Committee, for the purpose of elucidating the attempts to form similar Societies in this Country, and the perseverance with which the system is pursued, deem it necessary to recur to the period of the formation of such Societies, and to trace their progress and intercourse to the present time.

The Society of United Irishmen was established in 1791,—other Societies in Great-Britain, particularly the *Constitutional Society*, which had long existed, but about this time assumed a new character; *The Corresponding Society*, instituted in the spring of 1792; and the Societies of persons in Scotland terming themselves *The Friends of the People*, which originated about the same period, appear to have adopted, in their fullest extent, all the extravagant and violent principles of the French Revolution.

The Committee next proceed to detail the objects and proceedings of these different Societies, which we conceive to be sufficiently known to our Readers to make a recapitulation of them here unnecessary.

The *Third General Head*, comprizes the "*the First open Attempt in Scotland*." This relates the proceedings of the Scotch Convention in 1792—advert to the trial of *Muir* in August 1793—notices the *Delegations* made by the English Societies to the Scotch Convention in October 1793—the attendance of *Hamilton Rowan*, and the Hon. *Simon Butler*, Irish Delegates at this Convention—its change of title to "*The British Convention of Delegates of the People*," &c. and its adoption of the forms and phrases of the National Convention of France.—After substantiating from authentic documents, the views of this dangerous assembly, the Committee state their dispersion in December 1793, but not without the active exertions of the Magistracy—their perseverance in meeting privately, and the identity of their views with the United Irish in Dublin, from a resolution of the latter to receive the members of the Scotch Convention thus dispersed "as Brothers and Members of their Society."

tion of the People in England."—Under this head is taken a clear and satisfactory review of all the Proceedings of the English Societies in their correspondence and intercourse with France, which are fully detailed in the Reports of 1794, but which the Committee think it material again to advert to.—Under this comprehensive and important Head they bring into review the Addresses of the Societies—the Meeting at Chalk Farm, April 14, 1794,—the measures taken for disseminating Sedition, by itinerant Members dispersing themselves through the Country, and the dissemination of *Paine's* and other Works of a similar tendency.—The zeal of the Country Societies out-ran the instructions of the Agents, whose object it was to point the wishes of individuals to Universal Suffrage until after the Convention was assembled.—No caution of prohibition, however, could prevent the Country Societies from shewing their confident anticipation of the overthrow of the present System. The expected Convention was prevented from assembling by the arrests which took place, and the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, in May 1794.

The Committee adverts to the Trials of *Thomas Hardy*, *John Horne Tooke*, and *John Thelwall*, in November 1794; and states "that the evidence given on those Trials, established, in the clearest manner, the grounds on which the Committees of the two Houses of Parliament had formed their Reports in 1794; and shewed, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the views of these persons and their Confederates, were in their nature completely hostile to the existing Government and Constitution of this kingdom, and went directly to the subversion of every established and legitimate authority." The Committee conclude this Head by adverting to the Trials and Conviction for Sedition of *Redhead*, alias *Yorke* and of *Gale* and *Davidson*, in July 1795.

The Fifth General Head, "*Further Proceeding subsequent to the Arrests in 1794*," begins by stating, that disclosures upon the Trials, the detentions, and the powers vested in Government by the Act "to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government" had broken for a time the measures of the disaffected; but they never appear for a moment to have relinquished their original design; and a secret system of direction was adopted, similar to that of the United Irishmen.—The Committee advert to the seditious tendency of the meeting at Copenhagen House in October 1795—the consequent attack upon his Majesty's Person, in his progress to Parliament, and the passing of the salutary laws for the better prevention of Treason and Sedition, and the protection of his Majesty's person, in January 1796.—They next notice the suppression of the Seditious Lectures, the toleration of which was a disgrace to the Metropolis, and the measures taken to evade the Act against Treason and Sedition.—By the arrest of *John Binns* and *Gale Jones* at Birmingham, in 1796, a check was a second time given to the progress of Sedition and Treason, and immediate danger averted, but the attempts to poison the minds of the lower orders of the People was pursued with unabating perseverance. Its influence extended to the Fleet, and produced the Naval Mutiny in April 1797. The persons principally engaged in it were United Irishmen.—"The Mutineers, (say the Committee,) were bound by secret oaths to the perpetration of the greatest crimes. An attempt was made to give the ships in mutiny the name of *The Floating Republic*, and this attempt was countenanced both by papers published in France, and by a paper here called *The Courier*, which has on many occasions appeared almost equally devoted to the French cause."—The Committee proceed to detail the objects of the Mutineers, and to notice the various attempts since to seduce both Soldiers and Sailors from their duty; in consequence of which were passed the

place in this Country, connected with the general design of the Conspiracy, nearly to the period when its effects were manifested in their most dreadful and formidable shape in Ireland, by the Rebellion in that Country last summer; and having stated, that either with a view to that very Rebellion, or in consequence of it, the Societies in this country entered into a still closer connection with the Society of United Irishmen, and assumed a shape more similar than before to that extraordinary Combination, proceed to review the "*Progress of the Society of United Irishmen, till the period of the Rebellion; its intercourse with France, and with leading Members of Societies in this Country;*" which forms the

SIXTH GENERAL HEAD.

Under this head are detailed the treasonable Correspondence of *Jackson*, an Irish Clergymen, with France in the year 1794, with the confession and self-conviction of *Arthur O'Connor*, *M'Newin*, and *Emmett*—The expedition of General *Hoche* in Dec. 1796, concerted with Lord *Edw. Fitzgerald* and *Arthur O'Connor*—the missions of *Lewins* and *M'Newin* in 1797—and the connection of the United Irishmen with new Societies in England. The missions of *O'Coigly* in 1797 and 1798, are particularly noticed, and his seizure at Margate with his Confederates detailed; and it is added, that it appears to the Committee both from previous and subsequent information, that *Arthur O'Connor*, who had been to the moment of leaving Ireland one of the Members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France in the confidence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an accredited agent, but was confidently employed by the remaining Members of that Directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of *Lewins*.

SEVENTH GENERAL HEAD.

Further Intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies; formation of new Societies, and their proceedings.

At the Meetings of the *London Corresponding Society*, for above two years before this time, it had been avowed, that the object of the Society was to form a Republic, by the assistance of France. Reform in Parliament, or even annual Elections, or Universal Suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned. Your Committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of *Ashley* (one of the persons arrested in 1794), and who had, for a long time, been Secretary to this Society, was now acting as their Agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes of the succour of a French Army. Meetings were held to contrive the means of procuring Arms, to enable them to co-operate with a French Force in case of an Invasion. The leading Members of the disaffected Societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional Meeting, which was held at a cellar in *Furnival's Inn*, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable Publication, called "*The Press*." This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the Conspiracy. It was particularly attended by *Arthur O'Connor* and *O'Coigly*, previous to their attempt to go over to France; and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish Conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects, which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger Societies. Among these plans, was that of effecting a general Insurrection, at the same moment, in the Metropolis, and throughout the Country, and of directing it to the object of seizing and assassinating the King, the Royal Family, and many of the Members of both Houses of Parliament.—An Officer, of some experience in his Majesty's Service, was selected as their Military Leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained that they could command a sufficient force

15
But although the apprehension, that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears, for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt, yet the general language held among these persons, at this period, proved that they had brought themselves to the opinion that matters were nearly ripe for measures of open violence.

Attempts were at the same time made to form in London, upon the plan of the *United Irishmen*, the Society of *United Englishmen*, or, *United Britons*, before referred to: and O'Coigly and John Binns, appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this Society into four districts, including a large part of the coasts of this kingdom the most exposed to invasion:—And it was also in contemplation to combine the operations of this Society with those of the Society of *United Irishmen*; of which your Committee will find it necessary separately to take notice.

Most of the Societies through England, which had used to correspond with the *London Corresponding Society*, had also about this time adopted the same plan of forming Societies of *United Englishmen*; and finding their communication by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as possible, the keeping any papers; used cyphers, or mysterious words, in the few writings that passed between them, and principally carried on their intercourses by agents, who went from place to place, and were recognized by signs, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or inconsiderate persons throughout the Country, were gradually involved in these criminal transactions; and the influence of the destructive principles from which they proceeded, was still further extended by the establishment of clubs amongst the lowest classes of the community, which were open to all persons paying one penny, and in which songs were sung, toasts were given, and language held, of the most seditious nature.

Information having been received of a Meeting of *United Englishmen*, to be held in a house in Clerkenwell, Warrants of Arrest were issued, and persons were apprehended on the 18th of April, 1798. There was found upon the Secretary of the *London Corresponding Society* (who appears to have officiated as President at the Meeting) the Oath proposed for the *United Englishmen*, set forth in the Appendix; another Oath, of the same nature, was found under the table; and also a printed Constitution of the Society of *United Englishmen*, as set forth in the Appendix.

Information having also been received of an extraordinary Meeting of the Delegates and Secretary of the *London Corresponding Society*, intended to be assembled at a large room in Wych-street, on the 19th of April, 1798, the persons there assembled were likewise arrested; and from the discoveries made in consequence of these Arrests, the connection between the *London Corresponding Society* and the *London Society of United Englishmen* was clearly established.

It appeared that about Forty Divisions of *United Englishmen* had been formed in London; about twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting; and that many similar Societies were forming in different parts of the Country. With respect to these latter, it was intended that the different Counties in Great-Britain should, respectively, be divided into Districts; in each of which a central Society was to be established in the principal Town, and was to carry on a constant correspondence, both with the smaller Societies in that District, and with the General Society in London: and this System was so constructed as to admit of still greater subdivision, if the increase of numbers had been such as the Leaders hoped.

It appears to your Committee, that the chief progress made in the formation of Societies of *United Englishmen* was in London and the parts adjacent

Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and in which there were many United Irishmen, either as residents, or as fugitives from their country.

At Manchester, and the adjacent country in particular, the plan of these conspiracies was extending itself in the most alarming manner; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Irishmen, of whom there are very large numbers resident in that neighbourhood.—Great numbers of printed copies of the ‘*Constitution of United Englishmen*’ have been discovered in Manchester and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the Society was making great progress, when it was checked by the arrest of several of its Leaders in 1798.

A Society of *United Englishmen* had been established in and about Manchester before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it had consisted of about fifty divisions, and in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty. Each of these Divisions consisted of not less than fifteen Members, and was again subdivided when the number of its Members exceeded thirty-six. This Society has been most particularly active in the most wicked attempts to seduce the Soldiers in different regiments; for which purpose they adopted a system of more particular secrecy, and it has therefore been difficult to discover the extent of these crimes; but the general good conduct of his Majesty’s Forces, of every description, in this Kingdom, affords the most satisfactory proof that their diabolical practices have not been successful in any considerable degree. The Test used for the Soldiers is set forth in the Appendix. In other respects the Society has followed the *United Irish* and the *United English* formed in London, in their Constitution, their Test, and their Signs of Secrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the same mystery, and under the same direction, the whole being governed by the persons who form the Committee of *United Englishmen*, styled “*The National Committee of England*,” who are, apparently, unknown to the rest of the Members of the Society, though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquiesce in this system, and to obey implicitly the directions of their Leaders, from the persuasion with which they appear to have been universally impressed, that persons of higher situations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though, from circumstances of caution, those persons had not become actually Members of the Society; or, if they were Members, concealed the fact with considerable care, and did not attend the Meetings. In some degree, this persuasion may have been well founded; but your Committee are inclined to think that some art was used to strengthen this impression, for the purpose of giving greater encouragement to the Members in their hopes of final success.

The Societies in the country connected with Manchester have been formed into twelve districts, each of which sent a Delegate to the Committee, called, The County Committee; which appears to have corresponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but also with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourse between the United Englishmen in these parts and the United Irish, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Irish, frequently passing and re-passing between Cheshire or Lancashire, and Ireland, and frequently visiting the English Societies. Among the Persons who have been thus travelling from one country to the other, your Committee have remarked O’Coigly, who repeatedly visited Manchester, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention.—He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland after his journey into France before-mentioned. He then wore a mili-
tary

by which he was introduced, by Arthur O'Connor to Mr. T. Bell, of Charter-house-Square, from whose house O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arrest at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his conversation and conduct at Manchester, leave no room to doubt the objects of his journies between Great-Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arrest, and there appears also little reason to doubt, that many, both of the United Englishmen, and of the United Irish, at Manchester and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport at least, of his mission, and anxiously expected that assistance from France, of which they received, from him, very strong assurances.

The Society at Manchester seems to have been the central Society of an extensive District, and to have been managed by a very zealous and active Committee. It frequently sent Delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cheshire. Their correspondence appears to have extended to the most distant parts of England, as well as to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Liverpool also became the seat of another central Society, presiding over a surrounding district, and corresponded with other parts of England, and with Scotland and Ireland; and different Emisaries, some of whom were foreigners, about this time were sent through various parts of the Kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the numbers and dispositions of the Societies of United English and United Irish.

Whilst the Societies in England were thus endeavouring to form a Society of United Englishmen, or of United Britons, on the model of the Irish Society, attempts were made in Scotland to form a distinct Society of 'United Scotsmen' on the same plan. And your Committee cannot forbear to remark the industry with which it has been attempted in this instance, as well as in others, to separate Scotland as well as Ireland from England, and to found, on the ruins of the established Government, three distinct Republics, of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The attempts to form a Society of United Scotsmen had made little progress till the spring of 1797; but from the month of April, 1797, till November following (when a discovery was made in the county of Fife, on which George Mealmaker was brought to trial, and convicted of sedition) these attempts appear to have been attended with more success, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and in the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Fife, and Perth. Glasgow, and the county of Ayr, were the places in which this spirit first manifested itself, and from which Emisaries were sent, into different parts of the Country, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the Society, and disseminating what they termed, 'Political Knowledge.'

The Societies thus formed in Scotland, appear to have been reduced to a system almost as regular and complete as that which was established in Ireland; the outlines of the plan were the same, and the studied secrecy of the proceedings, and the gradations of internal arrangement, formed its great characteristic. By a general rule of their Association, no Society was to consist of more than sixteen Members, and when any Society had obtained a number of Members exceeding sixteen, it was to divide itself into two Societies. In some small towns there were three or more such Societies, all of which were sometimes assembled, by their individual Members, or by a Committee from each Society; and such Assemblies were termed 'Parochial Meetings.' Each of these Parochial Meetings had a Secretary, who was also Treasurer; and one or two Delegates were chosen to represent the Parochial at the County Meeting, which was composed of Delegates from all the Parochial Meetings within the county of district, and was held every six weeks. The delegates were elected by
ballot.

tion was sometimes made, by each Member whispering in the ear of the Secretary the name of the person for whom he gave his vote ; and as there could be no material check on the declaration of the Secretary, it is evident that the election of Delegates might be managed in any manner most agreeable to the Leaders of the Society. The meetings called ' County Meetings', were not restricted to the known Divisions of the Counties, but were composed of Delegates from Parochial Meetings, within either larger or smaller Districts, according to the number of United Scotsmen in each neighbourhood. At the county meetings, Delegates were elected to represent the Societies at a 'National Meeting,' in the same secret manner as was used for the election to the Delegates to the county meetings ; and the place of that meeting was not generally disclosed. The Secretary of the county meeting gave the Delegate, when chosen, a small slip of paper ; containing a name of a person to whom he was to apply, and who was to take him to the place of the National Meeting. This person was called '*The Intermediate.*' The counties also were distinguished by numbers, and not by their names ; and the Delegate received, on another slip of paper, the number of his county, and the time appointed for the National Meeting.

The meeting assuming this name was a Committee formed of Delegates from the county-meetings, and assembled every seven weeks ; and there the most important business of the Society was transacted. This meeting received Reports from a Secret Committee, and nominally directed its conduct, but the Secret Committee really had the chief management. This Committee was elected from amongst the Delegates at the National Meeting, in the same secret manner as those Delegates had been chosen at the county meeting, the persons elected being only known to the Secretary ; and the Committee thus secretly formed, did not disclose itself in the transaction of business ; all of which was conducted through the intervention of a person (already noticed) called '*The Intermediate,*' who delivered their orders, and who was the same person to whom the Delegates had been directed to apply for information, respecting the place of assembly of the National Meeting. Except, therefore, to the Intermediate, to the Secretary, and to each other, the persons composing the Secret Committee remained wholly unknown.

Every proceeding was involved in the same mysterious secrecy ; and though this system of blind obedience had the effect of disgusting and alarming some of the Delegates, who perceived themselves to be instruments in the hands of an unknown authority, for purposes, of which the extent was never fully disclosed to them ; yet the Committee, thus formed, continued to preserve its general influence ; disbursing at its pleasure the money collected ; giving all orders for the places of the National Meetings ; sending missionaries, disseminating papers, receiving information, and conducting every part of the business without controul.

The National Meeting was generally, if not always, held in or near Glasgow ; and from Reports of what passed at those Meetings, it appears that they corresponded with the Society of United Britons, and sent Delegates to England, and received Delegates from thence. When the Meeting broke up, each Delegate received a note of the time appointed for the next meeting, which he was to deliver to the Secretary of his own county meeting, when the new Delegate was elected.

Their communications with different parts, and particularly with England, were seldom carried on in writing : some papers, however, have been discovered, which clearly shew that the Society had the most dangerous object in view ; and that some of its members were sanguine enough to profess an opinion, " that if the flattering accounts which

of Liberty."

This System of Union, as well as that of the United Englishmen, was evidently borrowed from Ireland; and there is reason to believe that it was introduced by delegates from that country. Signs were adopted for the purpose of distinguishing the Members, as was practised in Ireland; but the knowledge of the signs seems to have been only imperfectly diffused; they never have been generally understood; or, having been altered at different times, in different places, without concert, were never uniform in all parts of the country.

In their sanguine expectation of success, these Conspirators formed wild and extravagant Plans of seizing, in the same night, all the leading People over the whole Island. If these persons should resist, they were to be put to death; but if they submitted quietly, their lives and property were to be spared, but they were to be kept in custody till a new Constitution should be formed, which was clearly meant to be conformable to French principles.

An Oath or Test was formally administered, and printed Papers were circulated, under the title of "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of United Scotsmen," a copy of which is set forth in the appendix.

The measures of this Conspiracy were disconcerted by the arrest of Mealmaker, of Dyer, and of Archibald Gray, the latter of whom, after his indictment, escaped to the Continent, and has become a Member of a Society at Hamburg, which will hereafter be noticed, by the name of "*The Philanthropic Society*."

In addition to this view of the Proceedings of the Societies both in England and Scotland, at this period, it is material to remark, that whilst rebellion was at its height in Ireland, there were found individuals, in this country, who so strongly manifested their desire to support the cause of the Rebels, that they became the objects of Criminal Prosecution. Among these, a man of the name of Martin Dunnovan, was indicted for distributing at Gosport, the Address stated in the Appendix, intituled, "An Irishman's Address to his Countrymen in England;" the contents of which perhaps might have warranted a prosecution for a higher crime, and are so striking a specimen of the Intentions of the disaffected, that although the particular instance relates only to the conduct of one individual, your Committee have thought it highly deserving of notice. This man was convicted at the last Summer Assizes at Winchester, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In pursuance of the same Plan, the United Irishmen in this Country have been incessantly labouring to disseminate their principles, both by means of secret combinations among such of them as have found their way into the Naval Service, and by extending their Societies both in the metropolis, and in different parts of the Kingdom. The extent to which these practices have prevailed, and (notwithstanding repeated instances of detection and punishment) are still carried on in the Fleet, has been too fully demonstrated by the evidence which has appeared in a Variety of Courts-Martial, the Proceedings of which have been laid before your Committee, and which contain matter so serious and important, that your Committee, have thought it right to insert an abstract of them in the Appendix. It appears that oaths have been tendered by the Mutineers to the Crew, "to be United Irishmen, equal to their Brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the King or his Government. That they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France; with the express view of co-operating for the expulsion of the Protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic Government; and it has been part of their Plan to murder their

On another occasion, the Oath was taken as follows:—
“ true to the Free and United Irish, who are now fighting our cause
“ against Tyrants and Oppressors, and to defend their Rights to the
“ last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret ; and do agree to carry
“ the Ship into Brest the next time the Ship looks out a-head at i.
“ and to kill every Officer and Man that shall hinder us, except the
“ Master ; and to hoist a green Ensign with a Harp in it, and after-
“ wards to kill and destroy the Protestants.”

The Mutineers on board one of his Majesty's Ships appear to have been engaged in the plan of carrying the ship to France, in expectation that they would be promoted in proportion to their crimes ; that one of their Ringleaders was to be appointed Captain, and that they were then to proceed with the French against Ireland ; and this deep-laid villainy was disguised and aggravated by a degree of hypocrisy and imposture, scarcely to be paralleled ; the particulars are stated in the appendix.”

The Mutineers in another Ship were proved to be connected with Corresponding Societies at Nottingham. The Oath which they attempted to administer was, “ to carry the Ship into an Enemy's Port, either French, Dutch or Irish ;” and they meant, in the event of being brought into action with an Enemy's Ship, to shoot their own Officers on the Quarter-Deck !”

While these Proceedings of the United Irishmen in the Fleet exhibit so dreadful a picture of their sanguinary designs, and of the similarity of their views and principles to those which have produced so much calamity and bloodshed in Ireland, their conduct on shore has not been less deserving of the most serious attention. Your Committee have no hesitation in stating, on the clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circumstances, that among the various bodies enlisted, in any part of Great-Britain, for the purposes of sedition and treason, the Societies which have been formed by the United Irishmen in this country, are in all respects the most formidable, particularly at the present moment ; whether considered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the designs of which they are preparing, in a very short time, to attempt the execution in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from these Societies is much increased from the constant communication which they maintain with the Societies in Ireland ; their mutual confidence in each other ; and the alarming circumstance of their being, at this moment, subject to the same secret direction, and the same chiefs.

These Societies have been instituted, not only in London, but in different parts of the Country, and have formed themselves into subdivisions. In the appendix are inserted printed Forms of Certificates of Election to the Society, which were seized among the papers of a person long engaged in this conspiracy. One of these forms has been framed for a ‘London Society.’ The other appears to relate to a Society, called an ‘External Society.’ The impression of the seal on the former of them is the same with that of the seal found in the custody of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when he was apprehended. The reference in these Certificates to the Constitution and the Test, confirm the unquestionable information which your Committee have received, that these Societies form a part of the Dreadful System which was unhappily established in Ireland. The Constitution of the United Irishmen, such as it was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings ; and Copies of this Constitution have been found in the possession of persons principally concerned in promoting these Meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory

of which Government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which were consequently apprehended. This paper is inserted in the Appendix. Other papers, seized at the same Meeting, strongly confirm the account which your Committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these Societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland) of keeping the accounts of the Society, by substituting different numbers for the names of the Members. Your Committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix, a Copy of a printed Card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and particularly among other seditious papers, in that of a person recently apprehended, who, there is reason to believe, has been very lately chosen to act as General Secretary to the different Societies of United Irishmen now in London. The person named in this Card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your Committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this Society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons, there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable. Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become Members of this Society. But the most active part consists of those Irish Rebels who have fled to this Country; rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the Countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects, to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid, and form the Committee, by means of which, a constant correspondence is carried on, through Hamburgh, with France.

Among these Plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798 it was seriously in agitation among the Conspirators in Ireland, to convey in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen, and to land them on different parts of the coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the capital in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of those trades and occupations in which the Irish, commonly resorting hither, are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society, in effecting an insurrection in London, at the time of the Rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that country; and the plan is said to have failed from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it. About the same period, another project was secretly formed, (of which your Committee have received more distinct information) for collecting at one point, a chosen body of the most determined from among the United Irish employed on the river Thames, to whom a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity, was to be administered. Large rewards were to be promised. They were to be kept wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform, till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as soon as an attack on some part of the coast was announced on the part of the French.— They were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions, and were to make an attack, by surprise, at the same moment, on both Houses of Parliament, on the Tower, and on the Bank.

ing the proceedings and plans of the Conspirators, the timidity or reluctance of some of the intended leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of some of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realize these extravagant designs, when they were first in contemplation.

But, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, and altho' these Conspirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprize would be immediately resisted, your Committee have received undoubted proof that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making, by Agents from Ireland, to concert with the French Government the time for a fresh and general insurrection in Ireland.—Intelligence has been received, that in the ports of France the utmost diligence is used in preparing another Expedition to co-operate with the Rebels in that Kingdom. The time for making this attempt, seems to be, in a great measure fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the Traitors in Ireland, tallies, in this respect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your Committee : and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their Confederates in this Country. It seems to be intended, at the same time, to attempt a diversion, by another French force on different parts of the Coasts of this Kingdom. The manner in which such expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the Conspirators, both in Great-Britain and Ireland, and the species of warfare which the French had in contemplation, will be sufficiently evident from a reference to the instructions of Tate, who was made prisoner in Wales (which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made last Session, on the treatment of prisoners of war) and to those of Humbert, who commanded the force which landed last year in Ireland, and who had also been destined to command an expedition against Cornwall, which are inserted in the Appendix to this Report.—For the purpose of co-operating with these attempts, and particularly with the same view as that to which the measures before enumerated, were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if possible, reinforcements being sent from hence to Ireland. It is also part of the plan, that an effort should be made to create an insurrection in the Metropolis, and in some other parts of the Kingdom, where these Societies are most numerous. Your Committee are fully confident, that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while Government retains the means which it at present possesses, such wild and desperate projects may be expected to lead only to consequences destructive to their authors. But your Committee are at the same time so forcibly struck with the view they have had of this part of the system, and with the peculiar danger continually arising from the Society of United Irishmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the secure maintainance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it necessary to bring it thus distinctly under the immediate consideration of the House.

Societies at Hamburgh.

In addition to this mass of Treason in Great-Britain and in Ireland, your Committee find that, for the purpose of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a Committee of United Irishmen has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of those disaffected persons who have fled from Great-Britain or Ireland, either from apprehension of the consequences of the treasonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpose of assisting the Conspiracies carried on against their respective Countries; and with the latter view it has been the centre of a Correspondence, which

with Great-Britain and Ireland, has frequently been covered by the pretences of commercial transactions, or of communicating intelligence for the public Newspapers.

Hamburgh has also been the resort of the disaffected of every other Country, whose intrigues are constantly directed to the object of spreading the principles of Jacobinism in Holstein and the North of Germany, and generally in all the Northern parts of Europe. Many Emissaries, English, Scotch, and Irish, have been dispatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great-Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the Continent, as circumstances required. There has recently been established at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a Society called "The Philanthropic Society," for the purpose of corresponding with the Republicans of all countries, upon the plan of the Corresponding Societies established in Great-Britain and Ireland; and whose avowed object is the Reform of all Kingdoms and States. The leading Members of this Society, who direct all the rest, compose a Committee of about Twenty Persons, British, French, Dutch, and Germans. The Members of the subordinate Societies at Hamburgh and Altona are all under the controul of the Committee or principal Society before-mentioned. This Committee constantly corresponds with Great-Britain and Ireland, and all parts of Germany. It has Secretaries skilled in different languages, and corresponding Agents in different Towns, particularly in London. It may become a formidable engine in the hands of the French Directory, and it appears to be making considerable progress: but there is reason to hope, that it has at length attracted the notice of the Governments of those places.

Upon a view of all the circumstances which have come under the consideration of your Committee, they are deeply impressed with the conviction, that the safety and tranquillity of these Kingdoms have, at different periods, from the year 1791 to the present time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traitorous plans and practices of Societies, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views, of our inveterate Foreign Enemy.

That, although the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, has alone been enabled to attain its full strength and maturity; yet the Societies instituted on similar principles in this Country, had all an undoubted tendency to produce similar effects, if they had not been checked by the general demonstrations of the zeal and spirit of His Majesty's faithful Subjects, and by the timely and judicious use of those extraordinary Powers which Parliament has in its wisdom, from time to time, confided to his Majesty's Government.

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connection has been maintained between all these Societies in Great-Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings in both Kingdoms were no other than the entire overthrow of the British Constitution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a Democratic Republic, founded on the Ruins of all Religion, and of all political and civil Society, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous resistance opposed to the Rebellion in Ireland, the success of the measures which have been employed for detecting and defeating the designs of the Conspirators here, and the general and ardent spirit of loyalty and attachment to the Laws and Constitution, have hitherto counteracted the progress of the mischief, and averted impending danger; but even those circumstances by no means appear to your Committee to justify the hope that the mischief is eradicated, or the danger past.

The principles and views of the Conspirators remain unchanged.—

Their

And the system of those secret Societies, which are at once the instruments of seditious Conspiracy at home, and the Channel of Treasonable Correspondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means destroyed.

Your Committee have already referred to the positive information laid before them, stating that hostile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in some of the ports of France, for the invasion of this Country or of Ireland. The activity of seditious and treasonable Societies, in their correspondence with France, and in their endeavours to gain proselytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the Enemy; and the principle of secrecy, generally enforced by unlawful Oaths, which is the great characteristic of these Societies, peculiarly fits them for the most desperate enterprizes, and by holding out a prospect of security, increases the means of seduction. It has, at the same time, an obvious tendency to elude detection in the first instance, and to defeat legal enquiry in the next. To this principle therefore, in the opinion of your Committee, such further measures as Parliament in its wisdom may think fit to adopt for the Public Safety, should be more immediately and decisively pointed.

Your Committee have seen, with satisfaction, the powers which in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the Constitution, have from time to time, as the urgency required, been confided to His Majesty's Government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arresting and detaining suspected persons (a remedy so constantly resorted to by our ancestors in all cases of temporary and extraordinary danger,) has, under the present new and unprecedented circumstances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the Correspondence with the Enemy, and has checked from time to time, the progress and communication of Sedition and Treason at home. But from particular circumstances which have come under the observation of your Committee in the course of their enquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this measure would be rendered more complete, and the public tranquillity better secured, if the leading persons who have been, or may be hereafter, detained on suspicion of treasonable practices, shall hereafter be kept in custody in places sufficiently distant from the Metropolis.

The whole of the Secret Information which has been laid before your Committee, has strongly confirmed them in their opinion of the necessity of confiding these extraordinary powers to his Majesty's Government; and the very circumstances which created this necessity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abstain from disclosing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have stated to the House the general result, and on which their judgment is founded; but they trust that they have laid before the House sufficient grounds to justify their persuasion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the enemies to their Country carry on their dangerous Conspiracies, can only be defeated by a correspondent vigilance on the part of Government, and by the exercise of such additional powers, as may from time to time be entrusted to it by Parliament, and may be best adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And although your Committee do not think it any part of their province to suggest particular measures, the consideration of which must be left to the wisdom of Parliament; they cannot forbear particularly and earnestly pressing their unanimous opinion, that the System of Secret Societies, the establishment of which has in other countries uniformly preceded the aggression of France, and

by

with the safety of their Government and Constitution, and with their security against Foreign Force and Domestic Treason.

Your Committee have great satisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repressed, and if the same system of Vigilance and Precaution which has been successfully adopted for some years past, is adhered to, there is every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate disappointment and defeat of the Projects which have been so long pursued by our Foreign and Domestic Enemies. Impressed with a just sense of the Blessings enjoyed under our Happy Constitution, which distinguish this Country from every Nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of Society have shewn their determination to preserve those blessings entire, and have stood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence. While this laudable spirit continues to pervade every part of the Kingdom, and while the Wisdom of the Legislature encourages and directs its Exertions for the Public Safety, your Committee entertain a full conviction that the Religion, the Laws, and the Constitution of Great-Britain, and with them the Interests and happiness of all classes of his Majesty's Subjects, will, in the midst of surrounding danger and calamity, and in spite of every machination at home or abroad, rest under the Protection of Divine Providence, on the surest basis, secured by the energy and firmness of the Government, and by the Courage, the Patriotism and the Virtue of the Nation.

Documents taken from the Appendix.

ABSTRACT of Proceedings of a Court-Martial, held on board His Majesty's ship Royal William, at Spithead, on the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23d of June, 1797.

Captain the Honourable THOMAS PACKEN, Captain, who, with Twelve other Captains, composed the Court.



THIS court was assembled for the trial of William Guthry, James Callaway, Thomas Ashly, Robert Johnson, and John Davis, seamen, belonging to his Majesty's ship Pompée, Captain James Vashon, for making, and endeavouring to make, mutinous assemblies on board the said ship; and for inducing, by various artifices and threats, a part of her crew to be true to them, and to aid them in carrying their unlawful designs into execution; and John Broghan, seaman, also of the said ship, for being present at these meetings, and using also mutinous and threatening speeches to a part of the crew. Captain Vashon, of the Pompée, prosecutor, proceeded to examine his evidence in support of the charges. The first called in was a seaman, named Peter Dallimore; the second, was Dr. Josiah Packwood, surgeon of the ship, who produced a piece of paper that had been found among the prisoner Johnson's things, when they were examined in the captain's cabin. The paper was as follows:

"I, *[Name]*, to ever stand true till death in promoting the cause of freedom with equity, while any probability of furthering its progress remain." This paper was read by Callaway to Peter Dallimore, when he, and the prisoners, told him, that their object was to obtain an immediate peace on the return of the ship to port. They then swore him in—"to stand true to the ship's company, and not to divulge the secret to any of the officers." Callaway held the book, and with Johnson repeated the words of the oath, which ended with "So help me GOD!"

All the other evidence went clearly and decidedly to confirm the charges, but particularly that of James Addison, seaman. His evidence displayed much loyalty, having not only admonished the prisoners on the impropriety of their conduct, when they asked him if he wanted a peace, and which they said could not be obtained without dismissing the Ministers, but he drew up two papers to be read to the crew to counteract their illegal and mutinous designs.

It also appeared in the course of the examinations, that Broghan had declared he would hang every one who did not sign the paper drawn up by the Mutineers for the dismissal of Ministers, and for the attainment of peace. Some of the mutineers had, it seems, expressed an intention of carrying the ship into a French port.

The efforts of the mutineers were, in a great degree, however, counteracted, by the zeal and loyalty of a serjeant of marines, (named West) who, with the assistance of a few of the loyal seamen, swore all the marines to be true to their officers.

The court, after hearing all the evidence, both in support of the prosecution, and in favour of the prisoners, as well as the defence they had to offer, passed sentence of death on William Guthry, James Callaway, Thomas Ashly, and Robert Johnson, the charges being proved against them; but recommended Guthry and Callaway to mercy, on account of former good characters: acquitted Davis, and sentenced John Broghan to twelve-months solitary confinement in the Marshalsea.

ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court-Martial, held on board
His Majesty's ship Cambridge, in Hamoaze, between the
16th and 23d August, 1798. (Sunday excepted.)

Captain THOMAS TOTTY, President, who, with Eight other
Captains, composed the Court.

THIS court was assembled for the trial of Bartholomew Duff, Lawrence Buckley, Michael Butler, John Divine, John Dismond, James Cluney, James Mahar, John Matier, William Cotter, Dennis Hilfry, Robert M'Gee, John Clafe, John M'Gan, Edward Leonard, Guille Brille, Thomas Burke, Michael Doyle, Henry M'Clennon, Thomas Short, John Rusty, Martin Riely, and Patrick Hangling, then, or late, of the Cæsar.

The eight first ringleaders, and the remaining fourteen, as aiders and abettors, in making mutinous assemblies on board the said ship.—The oath administered by these mutineers to the crew was, “to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the King, or his Government.”—The sign among the United Irishmen was, to put the right hand upon the left breast.—The answer, to seize the right hand with the left.—It appeared in evidence, that they intended to murder the officers, to seize the ship, and to carry her to France, or Ireland. The prisoner, Duff, gave some of the people to understand, that he had received letters from Ireland, telling him that they were to receive every assistance from France, and that Buonaparte was soon to be in Ireland. Edward Brophy, a marine, who had belonged to the Cæsar, sent the annexed paper, [marked A.] to Captain Home, containing the names of eight leading mutineers, with Bartholomew Duff at the head: and of forty-eight, being suspicious characters, and constantly in Duff's company.

In the evidence against Butler it appeared, that he had at different times said, that there ought to be a Catholic Government in Ireland; that the Protestants should be expelled; and that the English had no right to be there: he also wished to be in Ireland to assist in the rebellion, and recover the title and estate of Ormond, of which, he said, his family had been unjustly deprived by the English.—Butler, also, it appeared, had declared, that he should never die easy till he swam in English blood. There was evidence equally strong against others of the prisoners, and the court, after having heard the defence the prisoners had to offer, sentenced Duff, Buckley, Butler, Dismond, Mahar, and Cotter, to suffer death; Divine and Cluney, to 500 lashes each; and to be mulcted of all their pay, and the remainder to be acquitted.

[Paper A.]

As I Edward Brophy, marine, who lately belonged to his Majesty's ship Cæsar, who have been permitted by R. Home, Esq. whereas he has allowed me so far as to be an evidence to convict the conspirators, and to bring the said plot to light, which has been carried on for some time against our King and Country, when I am put upon my oath nothing shall be wanting to bring every thing to light to the best of my knowledge.

Bartholomew

Bartholomew Duff,
John Disman,
Wm. Cotter,
James Maher,
Law. Buckley,
Wm. Burke,
Mich. Butler,
Mich. Fitzgerald.

Those persons I can give evidence
to be leaders of the Plot that was car-
ried on on board his Majesty's ship
Cæsar.

The undermentioned Persons I can give evidence as being suspicious
people, and continually being in Duff's company and the above-men-
tioned names:

Andrew Broghall,	H. Kingston,	Thomas Carroll,
Wm. M'Guire,	Jno. M'Donald,	Thos. Montgomery,
Pat. Purcell,	R. Davis,	J. Ricoz, a Frenchman;
Wm. Ivory,	Corso Morosso,	Owen Keenan,
Pat. Gannen,	John Victory,	John Byrne,
Martin Riely,	Joseph Butler,	Bryan Cannon,
Thos. Jones,	Geo. Newby,	Owen Carty,
Jno. King,	Farrel Conway,	Timothy Cronen,
Sol. Harrington,	Pat. O'Bryan,	Paul Condon,
Wm. Costley,	Geo. Cordolley,	Andrew Neale,
Saml. Dowly,	Edward M'Namara,	James Hannagan,
Jas Clooney,	Owen Kearns,	Thomas Dempsey.
John Mahoney,		

MARINES.

P. Hanlon,	Edward Leonard,	John M'Garr,
Robt. M'Gee,	Dennis Kilfey,	Jas. Morrison,
John Clofe,	John Rusly,	John Lacey,
Morris M'Garr,	John M'Tier,	

ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court-Martial, held on board
His Majesty's ship Gladiator, in Portsmouth Harbour, be-
tween the 8th and 14th September, 1798. (Sunday excepted.)

Captain JOHN HOLLOWAY, President, who, with seven other
Captains composed the Court.

THIS court was assembled for the trial of John Brady, Wm. Lindsay,
John Hopkins, James Moor, Christopher Mahane, Terence
Dunn, Thomas Jourdain, James Cannon, David Reed, Thomas
Derbyshire, Nicholas Ryan, Cornelius Callaghan, Owen M'Carte,
Richard Kennedy, Thomas Luffin, Patrick Devoy, John Donally,
Peter M'Guire, John Hoare, Edw. Swinney, Patrick Hynes, Michael
Foy, Michael Kelly, and Edward M'Laughlin, seamen, and James
Lawless, private marine, belonging to his Majesty's ship Defiance, Capt.
Theophilus Jones, for having held mutinous assemblies on board the
said ship, at which an oath to the following purport was taken:

"I swear to be true to the Free and United Irishmen, who are now
fighting our cause against tyrants and oppressors; and to defend their
rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret; and I do
agree to carry the ship into Brest, the next time she looks out a-head
at sea, and to kill every officer and man that shall hinder us, except
the master; and to hoist a green ensign with a harp on it; and after-
wards to kill and destroy the Protestants."

or lesser degree, and the court having heard what they had to offer in their defence, passed sentence of death on Brady, Lindsay, Hopkins, Mahane, Dunn, Jourdine, Cannon, Reed, Derbyshire, Ryan, Callaghan, Kennedy, Laffin, Devoy, M'Guire, Hoare, Swinney, Kelly, and M'Laughlin.—But in consideration of some circumstances, Hopkins, Mahane, Dunn, Jourdaine, Cannon, Devoy, M'Guire, and Hoare, were recommended by the court for mercy, on condition of transportation, &c.

Moor and Lawless were sentenced to receive 200 lashes each, and one year's solitary confinement in the Marshalsea. M'Carty and Foy were sentenced to receive 100 lashes each, and six months' solitary confinement. Hynes was sentenced to one year's solitary confinement, and Donally was acquitted.

ABSTRACT of Proceedings at a Court-Martial held on board His Majesty's ship Cambridge, in Hamoaze, from the 1st to the 9th October, 1798, inclusive. (except Sunday.)

Vice-Admiral Sir A. GARDNER, President, who, with Twelve Captains, composed the Court.

THIS court was assembled for the trial of Wm. Regan, Pat. Murphy, George Norton, and James Callaney, seamen of his Majesty's ship Glory—and Edmund Gibbons, John Hoare, and Thomas Dillon, marines, serving in the said ship, for having conspired to murder the officers, and those who should assist them, and then carry the ship into a French port; and for having, by seditious and mutinous expressions, and wishing success to the mutineers.—Lawrence Dowd, seaman, for proposing to Patrick Bayle, marine, to blow up the ship, in the event of the Irish party failing in the attempt.

It appeared in the evidence, that Regan was expected to be appointed Captain of the Glory, in the event of their getting to France; that the leaders would be promoted, the value of the ship given to them, and then to proceed with the French against Ireland. The annexed loyal declaration and address of all the Irish in the ship was given to Capt. Brine, as a cloak for their proceeding, and with a view to throw the officers off their guard.

The court having heard the evidence in support of the charges, and defence of the prisoners, sentenced William Regan, Patrick Murphy, George Norton, James Callaney, Edward Gibbons, John Hoare, Tho. Dillon, and Lawrence Dowd, to suffer death, the charges being fully proved.—John O'Bryan to receive 100 lashes on board the Glory, to be mulcted of his pay, and kept twelve-months in solitary confinement in the Marshalsea prison.

The same court having tried Dennis Mahony, (first) and Richard Holmes, seaman, for mutinous expressions, were sentenced—the former to receive 200 lashes on board the Glory, to be mulcted of all his pay, and to be kept in solitary confinement in the Marshalsea for twelve months; and the latter to 100 lashes, to be mulcted of his pay, and kept in solitary confinement for twelve-months in the Marshalsea.

Honoured Sir,

We, whose names are hereunto annexed, natives of Ireland, with grief and anxiety have heard, lately, of a horrid plot or conspiracy having existed in this ship, attributed entirely to us, and which the unhappy disturbance in Ireland, and the recent horrid transactions on board the *Cæsar*, give too great a colour to, and these rumours having been industriously circulated by some designing men, for the evident purpose of creating a division and party spirit between the English and Irish, we, for ourselves, do solemnly swear before Almighty God, whose awful name we would not take in vain, that we do not know of any plot or conspiracy, or mutinous assembly in the ship, now, or at any other time; and that we will, to the last moment of our lives, defend our King and Glorious Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, apprehend and bring to condign punishment any person or persons who shall dare to stir up any sedition or mutiny, or endeavour to cause any division or misunderstanding between us and our brave brethren in arms. Englishmen, to whom we are bound by every tie in nature, and whose interest and our own are inseparable.

We cannot close these few lines without expressing our grateful and heartfelt sense of the excellent and humane usage of Captain Brine and all his officers to the ship's company; and we do not hesitate to pronounce him a villain, a traitor to his country, and an enemy to mankind, who shall disturb the tranquillity, but for the subject of this address, we so happily enjoy under our excellent officers, who we shall support, honour and obey, to the last moment of our lives. Relying Sir, upon your well-known goodness of heart and humane disposition, we have thus humbly presumed to lay our sentiments before you, unbiassed by all other considerations, but those of the welfare of our King and Government, whom we honour and revere respectfully, leaving it to yourself to make this public, or otherwise, as you, in your wisdom, shall think fit. With hearts full of loyalty to our King and Country, and the greatest veneration for your public character and private virtues, we conclude with hoping you will do us the justice to believe, that these are the real sentiments of our hearts.

Honoured Sir,

We are, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

86 Seamen and Foremast-men,
26 Marines.

ABSTRACT of Proceedings of a Court-Martial, held on board His Majesty's ship *Diomede*, in Sheerness Harbour, on the 29th and 30th Days of October, 1798.

Captain PETER APLIN, President, who, with Twelve other Captains, composed the Court.

THIS Court was assembled for the trial of John Wright and Geo. Tomms, marines, serving on board his Majesty's ship *Diomede*, for having been concerned in attempting to stir up mutiny and sedition in the said ship, and having been guilty of various breaches of the articles of war.

The evidence that was brought forward on this trial went to shew, that the prisoners were connected with Corresponding Societies at Nottingham.

...they attempted to administer an oath to some of the crew, "to carry the ship into an enemy's port," either French, Dutch, or Irish; and threatened, in the event of coming to an action, with an enemy's ship, to shoot their own officers on the quarter deck. The prisoner Tomms's brother, who was living at Nottingham, wrote occasionally to him, and informed him of the state of affairs connected with Ireland. A favorite toast with Tomms was, "May the wings of liberty never flourish, till they are washed in the blood of despots."

The prisoners treated the address from the Admiralty to the Irish seamen with every contempt; and after the Captain had read it, Tomms declared he should never have an opportunity to read it again. This prisoner frequently declared his determination to shoot the officers in the event of coming to action; but if every thing else failed, to blow up the ship on her return to port.

The Court having heard all the evidence in support of the prosecution, as well as that which the prisoners could bring forward in their favor, together with the defence they had to offer, sentenced Wright to receive 500 lashes from ship to ship, and Tomms to suffer death.—The serjeant of marines, Daniel Alexander, having prevaricated in his evidence, was ordered into solitary confinement for three months in the Marshalsea.

ABSTRACT of Proceedings of a Court-Martial, held on board
His Majesty's ship *Gladiator*, in Portsmouth Harbour, on
the 15th January, 1799.

Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES THOMSON, Bart. President, who,
with Twelve Captains, composed the Court.

THIS Court was assembled for the trial of Patrick Townshend, James Reilly, Hugh M'Ginnis, and John Marshal, private marines, serving on board his Majesty's ship *St. George*, Captain John Holloway, for uttering or making use of mutinous or seditious expressions, or being present without using their utmost endeavours to suppress the same.

The evidence produced on this trial went principally to shew, that the prisoners had been seen together in their birth on board the said ship, and had been heard to drink the following toast: "The tree of liberty to all United Irishmen, and damnation to all that are enemies thereto."

The Court having heard all the evidence in support of the prosecution, as well as that which the prisoners had to bring forward in their favor, together with the defence they had to offer, sentenced each and every one of them to receive 300 lashes through the fleet then lying at Portsmouth.

Translation of Instructions for the March and Operations of
General Humbert.

IT would, perhaps, be imprudent for you to remain long in Cornwall. It would be more adviseable that you should first establish yourself in Devonshire, particularly in that part which lies between the two rivers the Ex and the Tamar. This situation, on account of the passes and mountains, will afford you an easy and safe retreat from the

puruit of the enemy, as well as a more extensive space for your operations. With a little enterprife and skill, you might easily succeed in cutting off the communication between Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Portsmouth. It would not, however, be adviseable for you to approach too near to those places, on account of the numerous garrisons which they contain, unless, indeed, you had information of any commotion having taken place, which you should labour to promote.

It is, therefore, of importance, that immediately on your debarkation, you should direct your march towards "*Deadman, and Newport.*" Above the latter, and without passing through it, you will cross the Tamar, a river which separates Cornwall from Devonshire, beyond which, it will be your object to take up a position.

Your march should be conducted with briskness and celerity. You should never keep the high road, but on the contrary, proceed through the bye ways, and narrow tracks, and especially those which are most remote from the great road. Before you enter a city, or town, you should enquire whether it contains any, and what number of, troops, whether there is any river in it, and what number of bridges, and whether it has any fortifications; you must then take your measures accordingly. You should frequently change your guides, in order to conceal from the enemy the knowledge of your marches, and never take a fresh guide in the presence of him whom you dismiss; you should make frequent counter-marches; always tell your guides that you have quitted a different road from that which you intend to pursue, and enquire the road to those towns and villages which you mean to leave behind you, or to which, at least, you do not intend to go.

The better to create surprize and consternation, you must now and then take possession of some little town or harbour, and lay it under contribution. You perceive by this, that all places of any note will apply to government for troops, which will be in want of them, and will be compelled to divide those which it can spare; this will enable you to destroy a great many of them, by engaging separately with the different detachments sent against you.

It is only by means of moveable columns that you can be opposed with success: It will not, however, be difficult for you to destroy their effect.

If they should be weak, you may easily overpower them; if they should be strong, you may disperse yourselves, and commit hostilities in different quarters. This will alarm the towns, and they will immediately require the protection of those troops which compose the columns, in order to serve as garrisons against your attacks. You will thus remain masters of the country, and starve both the inhabitants, and the troops, who are in the towns.

I doubt whether the English understand the use and advantages of moveable columns, but even if they do, you may render them of no avail, since the government has not a sufficient number of troops to cover every point at once.

The soldiers should not carry any thing besides their arms, ammunition, and bread; they will every where find linen, shoes, and other articles of dress.

The inhabitants must supply their wants, and gentlemen's seats will serve you for magazines.

In case the country should be too much ravaged to subsist you any longer, or in case the number of troops sent against you should compel you to quit the spot where you have taken position, you must quit it with expedition, make forced marches by night, and rest during the day in the woods and mountains. If you are under the necessity of
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stopping at any place to procure provisions, make choice of a good post, from whence you must send your detachments into the neighbouring villages. Your cavalry, for you must on your first establishment create a force of that description, will be most proper for this service, and may, and ought to, change horses as often as necessity shall require.

As you will proceed by hasty marches, the enemy's troops will not be able to come up with you, on account of the difficulty of procuring provisions: and even, if you should be obliged to fight, you must remember that you are Frenchmen, and strike a great blow.

Bear in mind, at the same time, that necessity only should induce you to risk the fate of an engagement: but, then you must make a desperate attempt. If you must force your way through the enemy you have to attack, let it be done in the night.

About eleven or twelve o'clock at night, send three or four patrols, consisting of four or six men, to set fire to some houses in your rear, and in different quarters. The enemy, imagining that you are flying, will, perhaps, endeavour to pursue you, and then you may either prepare an ambuscade, elude them altogether, or fall upon the rear of one of their columns, which you may easily overpower in the dark, and in the confusion into which troops unexpectedly attacked are thrown.

If the enemy should send assistance to the persons whose houses have been set on fire, the thing is the same, and you have the choice of either fighting, or eluding them, which, however, is not of so much advantage as the first alternative. If the enemy should remain under arms, and send patrols to reconnoitre, you must surround them, and put them to the bayonet, without firing a shot. In three or four hours afterwards you should depart in column, and proceed, "*au pas de charge*," against one of the wings, which you should drive in, and, without attempting any thing else, pursue your march, and make two or three counter marches in the course of the day.

The night will also afford you a fit opportunity to surprize, and put to the sword, any post that may be opposed to you. In the day time, and in an open situation, you must not hesitate to attack two thousand men, and in the night from four to five thousand, with a force of twelve hundred. From a post that is not intrenched, you ought to dislodge eight hundred men; but, if it should be intrenched, and defended by cannon, you must take care to avoid it.

In order to pass a river, the bridges of which are guarded, you must, if you cannot procure boats, endeavour to ascend to its source, to find a ford, or the causeway of a water mill. If you are very much pushed you must stretch a strong rope across from one side of the river to the other, and make such of the troops as cannot swim take hold of it, and pass over. In such cases their muskets must be carried in the slings, with the butt end upwards, in order that the lock may, if possible, be kept dry. Trees, long enough to reach from one bank to the other, are preferable to a rope. In that case you must cut down a good many, and throw them across at different places. If the river, though fordable, should be rapid, and the soldiers should be up to their necks in water, you must make the good swimmers go first, and then order a whole rank to pass at once, each soldier holding fast with his left hand by the coat of the man who is before him, and carrying his musket in his right hand. In this manner the soldier who reaches the opposite bank pulls along his comrade, and helps him out of the water, and so on successively. The horses may thus pass also, but it is not much to be trusted to.

Cornwall and Devonshire form a peninsula, in which it would be desirable that you should be able to maintain yourselves; and this you might accomplish with a little skill. If, however, you should be compelled by urgent motives, and after having made every effort in your power, to quit this district, it would then be expedient for you to make an irruption into the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, in order to strike terror into the heart of England, and even into London itself. In this last county you will pass the Severn, in order to reach the principality of Wales, a mountainous and woody country, where you will find a secure retreat, and where you would be better enabled to receive succour through Ireland. There is another manner in which you might pass the Severn, or the Bristol canal, that is by taking possession of Bristol, or Berkeley, and crossing the canal in the boats which you would meet with on the spot.

By means of a sum of money advanced in England, and the promise of a farther reward in France, you might induce plenty of fishermen to convey thither an officer entrusted with your dispatches. It would be difficult for you to correspond through any other medium.

Translation of Instructions to Brigadier General Humbert, commanding the Secret Expedition, entrusted to the Legion "des Francs."

AS soon as the formation of the legion, and the weather will permit, General Humbert, who will have made the necessary arrangements respecting the transports with Vice-Admiral Cornie, is to conduct his troops to St. Malo, there to cause them to be embarked, and immediately to set sail for the county of Cornwall, in the kingdom of England.

The garrison which, in pursuance of my orders, General Humbert is to take away from Chateaufort, is to be replaced by General Virges; and General Humbert, on the eve of his departure, is to apprise General Virges thereof.

The expedition must, if possible, depart in the night time; and during the passage, the ships are to make all the sail possible.

General Humbert is to take care that the most perfect order be preserved on board.

The troops are to receive their usual allowances; but when they are ready to disembark, they are to be furnished with four days provisions, and a double ration of brandy is to be allowed them: this they are to drink immediately, in order to refresh themselves after the fatigues of the voyage.

The disembarkation must be effected with all possible expedition.—The powder and ammunition must be carried by the soldiers, until such time as they shall have advanced far enough into the country to procure bat horses, which are then to be employed in that service.

The ammunition must not, on any occasion whatever, be left behind; and fresh supplies of it must be procured whenever an opportunity occurs.

During the first two days march, the legion must remain undivided; and care must be taken to prevent any of the men from straggling.

General Humbert will of course feel the propriety of speedily advancing to a woody and mountainous situation, before he attempts any act of hostility. He must take care to avoid swampy ground, not wholly because it is unwholesome, but because he might expose himself to the danger of being surrounded by troops, who would certainly

not fail to make use of the advantages which such situations always afford.

The expedition of General Humbert has three principal objects in view :

The first is, to put the country into a state of insurrection :

The second is, to embarrass the commerce of our rivals :

The third is, to prepare and facilitate the means of making a descent, by giving the greatest perplexity to the English Government.

The class of people the most easily to be moved to insurrection, as in all countries, is the poorest class. This may be effected by distributing money, or drink, among them ; by ascribing to the government the public wretchedness ; by instigating them, and facilitating their means to revolt, to pillage the public granaries, and to plunder the property of the rich, whom they always regard with an eye of envy.

It is, however, necessary to observe, that how regardless soever the English people may be of morality, they are attached to their laws, and respect their magistrates, even during the insurrections which have sometimes taken place ; it will, therefore, be expedient to spare the property belonging to, or in any wise connected with, the civil and municipal Magistracy. It will also be advisable to pursue the same line of policy, with respect to the country land-holders and merchants. The expences must then be borne by the great, the lords, (those who belong to the Opposition party are to be spared, whenever they are known) the ministers, the naval and military officers, especially those of the militia. The houses, the granaries, the cattle, the forests, and every thing belonging to any of these, must be distributed among the people, or pillaged by them. These calamities, which those of the Republic compel us to inflict, and to which a ferocious nation constrains us to expose it, will induce many of the labouring people, and the rabble of the country, to espouse our cause ; but they must on no account be incorporated with our own troops ; they must be formed into new corps, and placed under the command of French officers belonging to the legion, in order that no native of the country may become acquainted with the state of our force. They should also be kept separate, and as much in ignorance, in this respect, as circumstances will permit. It is principally by means of the new companies that the insurrection will be fomented.

With respect to the embarrassing of commerce, this may be best effected, by breaking down bridges, dykes, and causeways, (which is, indeed, necessary for the purpose of self-preservation,) by plundering convoys of provisions, and private and public carriages ; by cutting off the supplies destined for towns ; by burning merchant-vessels, boats, &c. by setting fire to dock-yards, rope-works, and the sail-cloth manufactories. It is also to be observed, that in consequence of these operations, a number of workmen will be deprived of employment, and will attach themselves to the party which supplies them with the means of subsistence ; a mode of livelihood so much the more captivating, as the individual himself contributes nothing towards it.

The object of the descent may be facilitated by disarming the militia ; by burning the public arsenals and harbours ; by intercepting messengers in the service of government ; as well as by the declension of troops, through desertion and insubordination ; and by the terror which the operations of the legion, and the progress of the insurrection, will inspire into the minds of those who might be inclined to defend the country.

The most favourable part of the country, is that in which forges and manufactories are to be found.

Provisions must be taken wherever they can be found, and if any town or village refuse *immediately* to afford a necessary supply of provisions, it must be given up to pillage. The better to strike terror into the country, the legion should be dispersed in different columns, and assemble again at a general rendezvous. This operation should be repeated every four, six, or eight days. The inhabitants of the country must be employed as guides; whoever shall refuse to act in that capacity must be punished on the spot. Magistrates should always be preferred for that service, or some of their relations, in order that they may be deterred from punishing those unfortunate persons who may be compelled by force to march.

Spies must be punished with death.

The villages near to any place where the legion, or any column belonging to it, shall have taken refuge, which do not send intelligence, or ring their bells, on the approach of troops destined to act against the legion, shall be burnt. In order to avoid the destruction of the troops under his command, General Humbert must decline coming to an engagement with regular forces, and must only attack small detachments, and cantonments, and weak posts. He must invite deserters from the enemy, and likewise prisoners to enlist in the new corps. If they should refuse, their hair and their eye-brows must be cut off, and if they should happen to be re-taken, they are to be shot.

General Humbert will not fail to bear in mind, that there are in England a great number of Frenchmen who will hasten to join him. These are the prisoners of war, both soldiers and sailors, the soldiers belonging to the emigrant regiments, and a number of others, whose wretchedness and a thirst of vengeance, would allure to his standard.

He is at liberty to admit Frenchmen into the legion; but he must employ the utmost vigilance to prevent those new comers from entering into cabals. Those who would be most inclined to these practices, are the nobles and the priests, whose ambition is equal to their cowardice.

Any attempt to excite mutiny must be severely punished.

The districts, the militia of which shall have attempted to oppose the march of the legion, must also be punished with severity; and as far as it may be practicable, such militia must be disarmed, and their arms put into the hands of the new insurgents. The greatest care must be employed to guard the ammunition.

General Humbert, who will be assisted by the knowledge and talents of his principal officers, will not omit to avail himself of every occurrence that may enable him to increase the strength and confidence of his party—an object so much to be wished for. He must spare and protect the poor and the aged, the widow and the orphan, and throw the burthen of the war on the shoulders of the rich, who are the authors of our calamities.

The militia and any other troops that may join us shall be admitted to the same indulgence. Irish sailors, also, who shall join us, shall be treated in the same manner; and they shall be paid, according to a full and fair valuation of them, for such ships or vessels as they shall bring into the ports in your possession, or even into the ports of France. But if, contrary to all probability, and in spite of the justice of your cause, any Irishman should be found so degenerate, so insensible to the glory and safety of his country, as to sacrifice them to his own selfish views, and to be induced to take part against us, I declare, that whenever any of them shall fall into our hands, they shall be treated, not as prisoners of war, like other English troops, but as rebels and traitors to their country, and all their effects confiscated.

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the public and legal authorities likewise. I con-
fiscate the property of runaways or emigrants, as well as that of per-
sons who, under a feigning neutrality, shall remain passive spectators
of the dangers of their country, and reserve to themselves the oppor-
tunity of declaring their sentiments, without danger, in favour of the
victorious party; and of all kinds of baseness, this being the most con-
temptible, it shall involve not only confiscation of the property, but
the banishment of him who shall be guilty of it.

Until circumstances shall permit the provisional representatives to
assemble for the purpose of establishing a regular national administra-
tion, I invite all enlightened patriots to communicate to me their local
knowledge, and the means by which the organization of the revoluti-
onary authorities may be accelerated.

PEOPLE OF IRELAND!

I have just imparted to you the intention of the French nation. I
have also expressed to you my private sentiments, with the frankness of
a soldier, who feels his glory connected with the success of our com-
mon enterprise. Bear in mind that all Europe, the eyes of which are
now upon you, will judge whether you deserve that your chains should
be broken. Nothing is more easy, if you engage in it with a deter-
mined courage. Rise at once, in a mass, at every point of your island.
My brave brethren in arms, and myself, will be the centre for you to
rally round. A force so considerable insures to you, without striking
a blow, a speedy and complete victory; and in the same manner as the
vivifying rays of the sun purify the earth from pestilential vapours, and
destroy the insects which they nourished, so from the ardour of your
patriotism shall issue that splendour which shall banish tyranny and an-
nihilate its satellites amidst the unanimous shouts of the Irish and French
exclaiming, liberty and equality for ever!

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